177 substratum on which each tribe has grafted its original system. The
121 study of this substratum would help define the problem of origins and influences.

After this, we have at our disposal the support of philology and above all the advantage of seeing the Bambara live their beliefs and of discovering their myths in a crude but expressive material as well as in numerous rites. The observations made over a wide field of inquiry serve as the basis for the presentation of this religious system.

114 The Bambara have been for a long time the subject of articles and
121 works, of which we will give below a concise bibliography. The only author who, until now, has attempted to describe their beliefs as a system is L. Tauxier whose study of La Religion Bambara /Bambara religion/ takes into account to a large extent the works of the Abbé Henry and Ch. Monteil. However, through the descriptions of these different observers which are certainly conscientious, this religion appears as a composite of diverse and even inconsistent elements with no apparent link between them. Despite a uniform plan and a laudable absence of preconceived ideas, L. Tauxier has been unable to bring out the fundamental concepts of the people he observed.

In fact, the study of a present-day Negro religion runs into difficulties of various kinds stemming on the one hand from the necessity of going into the field and on the other hand from the largely esoteric character of the doctrine. These circumstances make this study essentially a work of discovery.

Indeed, Bambara religion, like all Sudanese religions, has an exoteric part, quite easily accessible, which observation conducted along scientific lines may reveal in detail. Rules of life admitted by all, beliefs openly professed, and public or private practices may be the object of detailed work. But this religion, like that of the neighboring peoples, rests upon a doctrine whose fundamental principles
[609] are known to elders and initiates who show considerable aversion to confiding in strangers, particularly whites. Such a situation explains the ignorance in which scholarship has remained for so long concerning the religious way of thinking of this people (1).

812 1. The Bambara themselves distinguish between two kinds of knowledge. The first, called doni fyɛ̀ma "knowledge (which has) wind" /xviii/. is superficial

755 "(1) I have stated elsewhere that among Negro beliefs

1. Raffenel, op. cit., p. 463.

the tradition of the state of possession was carefully preserved. One evening I was present at a ceremony designed to drive a devil out of a woman's body. Father Niany, the universal man of Foutobi, was the exorcist. At the first rumor of this event, a throng converged on the woman's hut and I joined the crowd, curious to see what was going to happen. I saw a wretched woman rolling about on the ground in terrible convulsions in the midst of a circle of onlookers who let her thrash about without trying to help and merely watched her movements. There was great excitement when Niany appeared, and the circle opened to let him pass. He approached the woman, touched her, said a few words in a low voice, lifted her and placed her on a mat.

"The woman at once became calm, and father Niany, who seemed not at all impressed by his triumph, withdrew after speaking a few words in her ear. The crowd melted away, also without showing the least surprise at such complete and prompt success. I conclude that such happenings were not at all infrequent and that Niany had a special talent for driving devils out of women's bodies. I cannot [146] say what her trouble was, but when I saw her I thought that she was simply having an attack of epilepsy and I did not recognize the usual symptoms of that dreadful malady in the sort of convulsions she was having."

791 Though he was sure of his art, Niany nevertheless recog-
609 nized its hazards. There is no magician who does not find another who is more powerful. A foreigner, that unknown creature, is a danger, because he may chance to possess secrets which might invalidate the cleverest methods. That is why Niany fears Islam. He has an idea, which to us seems strange, of what Allah may be, as compared to a miscreant like himself and, being persuaded of the continuity of matter, he applies it in a manner that we shall describe in the chapter on Islam.

791 Though he may have his doubts about Islam, Niany is no
609 less suspicious of the manœuvers of the foreigner, Raffenel, who
821 is staying with him.

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"(1) One morning he came and complained bitterly that

1. Raffenel, op. cit., p. 322.

I was preventing the rain from falling and that I was causing a lot of trouble to the villagers. I could not imagine, at first, why he was thus berating me, but he explained. It was his considered opinion that the rain was very much annoyed with me for being too much interested in it. I was watching the raindrops and examining the clouds, and so the rain was getting its vengeance by refusing to fall. Father Niany resented my thermometers too, but his principal target was my barometer, to which he attributed all sorts of evil designs.

"On the following day he returned to the charge, accompanied by a deputation of farmers carrying their agricultural tools on their shoulders.

"'We've thought it all over,' said Niany, 'and we have decided that since you can stop the rain, you can also make it fall again. Therefore we have come to ask you to speak to the rain in our name.'" ....

"Two days later there came another deputation, but one which, this time, looked threatening. Among them were some [147] new faces.

"'We want you to make it rain,' said the leaders, with an angry glance at my barometer, 'for we have already waited too long. You will never convince us that what you do with your machines (they pointed at my instruments), while you look up into the air and write down the grigri, is innocent. Never before in this country, has the rain held off so long from falling and no one has ever before done what you're doing. Manage it as you will, but we must have rain by tonight.'

"The sky was filled with heavy black clouds which reassured me. .... An hour later the rain fell, but those wretches, no doubt fearing that my presence would interfere with its good intentions, pushed me unceremoniously into my hut and shut the door. By this ridiculous step they prevented me from watching the progress of a wonderful storm and noting the barometric pressure changes.

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821 "Can one imagine being given such orders? All that was left for them to do was to ask for the moon and the stars."

Niany is typical of many Sudanese blacksmiths, at least
791 of those who actually practice their trade, and it is no wonder
326 that the natives keep people of that caste at a safe distance and show them consideration, fear and a degree of scorn. For the Blacks, people as well as things connected with magic are inclined to take many forms.

791 Hunters also are magicians. One need only see a hunter
224 start off to recognize that this is true. His person and his equipment are covered with amulets that constitute a covering as well as an arsenal of magic weapons.

825 The Blacks have a different idea of animals from ours;
778 they too are powers with which one has to reckon. In proof of this, there is no animal, however tiny, which cannot be, at some time or other, very dangerous and therefore worthy of respect. So animals are addressed as "master" or "lord." The
[552] animals always to be feared are never called anything else: wara-ba means lion; sa-ma, elephant; ma-li, hippopotamus; bam-ma, [148] crocodile. Etymologically, all these names indicate "master" or "lord."

These terms are not meaningless; they attest a belief that supernatural power is incorporated in animal species. The attentions paid to animals have no other purpose than that of
825 conciliating the good-will of this power or, at least, of avoiding
789 its wrath. The common practice of using animal debris (skin,
[237] horns, tail, hair, offal, etc.) to make magic charms is an application of the principle of continuity of matter, of the individual and of the virtues peculiar to them. A rabbit's foot is tied to a
[843] pregnant woman's side in order to hasten the child's arrival; a small bag of lion skin will make the child brave and strong.

It seems likely that the domestication of animals is a
231 happy result of magic practices. These tamed creatures are held
552 to be "weak ones" and are treated as such. However, some of
825 their names show a trace of the esteem in which they were once held and which is still shown on occasion: fa-li meaning "donkey" derives from fa meaning "powerful," just as nya-ri meaning "cat" derives from nya and has the same meaning, along with ba meaning "goat."

797 as sila, also gather at Keghé (2) and address prayers to heaven

2. Then the royal residence of the Massa-si chiefs.

for the preservation of the king's life and the glory of his reign. Custom requires the king to make rich presents to the sila on this occasion."

[336] This dualism, which appears strange and which has sometimes been interpreted as a result of Islamic influence during an earlier period of Moslem supremacy, is, on the contrary and without any doubt whatever, an essential characteristic of the native milieu. In this milieu, in theory, all religions can flourish without hindrance and even with the benevolent assent of the faithful believers of the various sects, if one may so describe the adepts in these innumerable nyana. It is certain that all religions, a priori and by their very nature, enjoy particular esteem among the Blacks.

[609] In the mind of the native, a foreigner is particularly dangerous because he is assumed to possess mysterious magic powers. Many Sudanese legends bear witness to the Black's belief that encounters with foreigners are accompanied by combats whose outcome depends entirely on magic. As a result of this state of mind, as soon as it is apparent that the stranger's cult brings no calamities in its wake, not only is the cult tolerated, but some of the natives even adopt it, at first as a kind of addition to their own cults and then gradually they become converts.

Islam has also profited from this state of mind. With the external and public manifestations of his cult the Moslem easily impresses the Bambara who, as we have seen, are constantly obsessed with the supernatural. How could they fail to be struck by this divinity called Allah, who is endlessly proclaimed all day long, and by religious observances which are displayed before the public: ablutions, prayers pronounced aloud in as strange language, rosaries, mosques which are often monumental, great and impressive ceremonies?

Further, the fact that Islam is supported by the written word of its books gives it an element of certainty that is lacking in the native cults.

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701 3. The ton-koro-bolo behind the disi is a special reserve formed entirely of pure ton-dyon.

4. The keli-tigi was the chief of the expedition, designated by the Fama. He might be a dyon-kuntigi (chief of the furuba-dyon), a member of the Fama's community, or the Fama himself.

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534 Finally, the army was accompanied by a musical corps, composed essentially of drums which transmitted messages. There were armpit drums (dunkan'), shoulder drums (taura), three-legged drums (dange), drums carried by two men (tabala), and coupled drums (denuba). Often horns (buru) were added, sometimes small horns made of ivory or horn, and sometimes xylophones (bada) and cowbells.

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537 A dyeli (griot) follows the expedition to observe the exploits that he must retransmit; he must encourage the warriors and dispel panic by the power of his oratory.

B. Influence of Social Organization on Economic Life

a. The ton, Work Community

621 We have seen that the social unit among the Bambara is the community. The community is also the work unit and the economic unit. The independent individual is not conceived of. The community owns all the wealth which makes up the spiritual and material patrimony: the land, the agricultural, industrial, and commercial products, the habitations ...

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[43] The community regulates the exploitation of the land. The dugu-tigi is the first occupant, master of the land, of which he distributes the lots to the different family heads. When a stranger, a family head, wants to enter into a community, he chooses an unoccupied field and asks the village chief for it. The request is accompanied by ten kola nuts and a chicken. Authorization cannot then be refused. The chief of the land sacrifices the chicken before the entire community and informs it of the installation of the newcomer. When the stranger wants to leave the land, he is given back his chicken and kola nuts.

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622 Land assigned to a family head may always be taken back from him without justification by the dugu-tigi and his council.

689 Public violation of decency is punished by death.

684 For adultery, the man is put in irons and pays a fine, the woman is whipped by her husband, her brothers, or the Fama's police. Relations with a woman in mourning draws public scorn on the guilty, while a man who commits adultery with a pregnant woman is put to death. A captive who is the lover of his master's wife is put to death.

689 Vagrant individuals are presumed to be escaped captives and are handed over to the Fama.

735 Finally, begging is authorized, because, say the Bambara, it is better to have begging than stealing.

d. Responsibility

[608] The Fama judges all his subjects, except his own sénanku whom he has judged by his tribunal. The law is applicable to every circumcised man and excised woman recognized as sane. (The demented are put in irons.) They are responsible for their acts, but the family of the guilty is also responsible. The father of an uncircumcised boy is responsible for the boy's acts, the husband for the acts of his wife, and we have seen that a man's crime may lead to the punishment of his whole family. Let us further remark that a master was judge of his slave, but when a difference arose between slaves of different houses, their case was referred to the tribunal. The tribunal also weighed the death penalty [72] when a slave committed a grave fault. Finally, the foreigner who lives in the Bambara country is judged by Bambara laws.

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672 We must also note that the penalties apply to all crimes committed voluntarily; every infraction or damage involuntarily committed is excusable on the condition that it be immediately confessed. Thus it is that a hunter meeting a pair of lovers in the bush may kill them for outraging public decency, but must admit his crime immediately upon returning to the village.

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e. Inheritance

428 Monteil has noticed an order of succession in the Ségou region which does not correspond to that described by other authors, such as Ortoli or Aubert. In fact, at the death of the fa, " ... everything that belonged to him remains undivided under the new faya of